1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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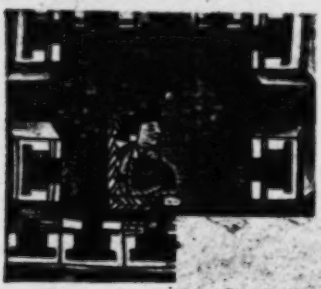


Rich Man

[482]

Poor Man

Beggar Man

[735]

Goldsmith

Thief

[326]

[685]

Feather Worker

[286]

[701
411
714]

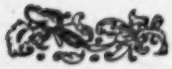
Warriors

PLATES 34-35

AZTEC SOCIETY AND COSTUME FROM

During the mid-sixteenth century the Spanish friar Bernardino de Sahagun made a famous study of the Aztecs, *Historia General de Nueva España*, which was not published until 1829. He had the Indians prepare copious illustrations to clarify his text, but they did not reach public circulation until 1905. The selections here show, besides the social division

[p. 112(B)]



The thirteenth month they named Tepeilhuitl. In this month they celebrated a feast in honor of the high mountains, which are in all these lands of this New Spain, where large clouds pile up. They made the images of each one of them in human form, from the dough which is called *tzoalli*, and they laid offerings before these images in veneration of these same mountains.

Al tercio decimo mes llamauan Tepeilhujtl: En este mes házian fiesta a honrra de lo montes emjoctes, que estan por todas estas comarcas desta nueua españa: donde se armã fiublados: hazian las ymagenes en figura humana a cada vno dellos de la masa que se llama tzoal, y ofrecian delante destas ymagenes, en respecto destos mismos montes.

Chapter 13
Tepeilhuitl

In honor of the mountains they made a number of serpents, of wood or of the roots of trees, and they fashioned them heads like [those of] serpents. They made also some lengths of wood, as thick as the wrist, and long. They called them *ecatotonti*. These, as well as the serpents, they overlaid with that dough which they call *tzoalli*. These pieces they provided a covering in the manner of mountains. Above, they placed the head, like the head of a person. Likewise they made these images in memory of those who had drowned in the water, or had died such a death that they did not burn them, but rather buried them.

After, with many ceremonies, they had placed upon their altars the aforementioned images, they also offered them *tamales* and other food; and also they uttered canticles of their praises, and they drank wine in their honor.

Upon arrival of the feast in honor of the mountains, they slew four women and one man. The first of these [women] they called Tepexoch. The second they called Matlalcueie. The third they named Xochtecatl. The fourth they called Mayauel. And the man they named Milnauatl. They decked these women and the man in many papers covered with rubber. And they carried them in some litters upon the shoulders of women highly adorned, to the place where they were to slay them.

1. Marginal notations: Number de diez anos

Cap. 13.
Tepeilhujtl.

Hazian a honrra de los montes: vnas culebras de palo o de rayzes de arboles, y labrauanles la cabeça como culebra: y haziã tãbien vnos troços de palo grueso como la muñeca largos llamauan los Ecatotonti: assi a estos como a las culebras los investian cõ aquella masa que llamã tzoal: a estos troços los investian a manera de montes, arriba les ponjan su cabeça como cabeça de persona: hazian tambien estas ymagenes, en memoria de aquellos que se aujan ahogado en el agua o avian muerto de tal muerte que no los quemauan, sino que los enterrauan.

Despues que cõ muchas cerimonjas, aujan puesto en sus altares a las ymagenes dichas: ofrecianles tambien tamales y otras comjdas: y tambien los dezian cantares de sus loores, y beujan vino por su honrra.

Llegada la fiesta a honrra de los montes, matauan quatro mugeres y vn hombre: la vna dellas llamauã tepexoch: la segũda llamauã Matlalcueie: la tercera llamauan Sochtecatl: la quarta llamauã Mayauel, y al hombre llamauã Milnaoatl: adereçauan a estas mugeres y al hombre cõ muchos papeles llenos de vlli: y lleuauanlas en vnas literas en hombros de mugeres muy atauiadas, hasta donde las aujã de matar.

584 age to marry, they spoke to him of their wish to seek a wife for him. And he replied, thanking them for this solicitude which they showed in marrying him. Then they addressed the leading man who had charge of all the young men, whom they called *telpochtlato*, and they told him that they wished their son to marry, since [the son] held doing so to be good. For this they held a great feast for him and for all the young men whom he had in his care; and for this they held conversation with him, after having given food and drink to him and to all those whom he had [412] in his charge. And at the beginning of the conversation they laid before him an axe for cutting lumber or firewood. This axe was a sign that that young man took his leave, now, of the company of the other young men; for they wished him to marry. And thus the *telpochtlato* departed content. After this the relatives decided, among themselves, upon the woman whom they were to give [to the son], and summoned the marriage-makers, who were some old, honored women, that they might go to speak with the parents of the young woman. [The marriage-makers] went two or three times, and spoke, and returned with the reply. During this time, the relatives of the young woman spoke among themselves, and, having decided to give her to him, they gave their consent to [777] the marriage-makers. After this they sought a day of good fortune, of a sign of good disposition [among] which were acatl, oçomatli, cipactli, quauhtli. Having chosen one of these signs, the parents of the young man made known to the parents of the young woman the day on which the marriage should be performed, and then began to prepare the necessary articles for [276] the wedding—[those] to eat and to drink, as well as such [things] as capes, smoke tubes, and flowers. 585 This done, they summoned the leading men and all the other people whom they wanted for the wedding. After the feast and [after] many speeches and ceremonies, those acting for the young man came at about nightfall to take the young woman. They car- [482 373] ried her, with great solemnity, upon the back of a matron, and with many pine torches burning in two rows before her. Many people surrounded her, behind and ahead, until they brought her to the house of the parents of the young man. Having brought her [372] to the house of the young man, they set them both by the hearth, which they always had in the middle of a hall, full of fire. And the woman was at the left hand of the man. Then the mother of the young man

casarse, hablauanle en que le querian buscar su muger: y el respondia, haziendoles gracias, por aquel cuydado, que tomauan de casarle: luego hablauan al principal que tenja cargo de todos los mancebos, que ellos llamauan Telpuchtlato: y dezianle como querian casar su hijo, que lo tuujesse por bueno: y para esto hazianle vn combite a el, y a todos los mancebos, que tenja a su cargo, y para esto le hazian vna platica, despues de auerle dado de comer, y de beuer a el y a todos los que tenja a su cargo: y en principio de la platica, ponjanle delante vna hacha de cortar madera o leña. Esta hacha era señal que aquel mancebo se despedia ya de la compañja de los otros mancebos: porque le querian casar, y ansi el telpuchtlato yua contento. Despues desto determjnauan entre si los parientes la muger, que le aujan de dar, y llamauan a las casamenteras, que eran vnas viejas honrradas, para que fuessen a hablar a los padres de la moça, yuan dos, o tres vezes, y hablauan, y bolujan con la respuesta. En este tiempo los parientes de la moça se hablauan, y concertandose de darsela, dauan el si, a las casamenteras. Despues desto buscauan vn dia bien afortunado, de algun signo, bien acondicionado, quales eran acatl, oçumatli, cipactli, quauhtli, auiendo escogido alguno destos signos: los padres del moço hazian saber a los padres de la moça el dia en que auja de hazerse el matrimonjo, y luego començauan a aperejar las cosas necessarias, para las bodas, assi de comer como de beuer, como de mantas, y cañas de humo, y flores. Esto hecho conbidauan a los principales, y toda la otra gente, que ellos querian para las bodas. Despues del combite, y de muchas platicas, y cerimonjas: venjan los de la parte del moço a lleuar a la moça de par de noche, lleuauanla con gran solennjdad, a cuestas de vna matrona, y con muchas hachas de teas encẽdidas, en dos rencles delante della, yua rodeada della mucha gente, detras y delante, hasta que la llegauan a la casa de los padres del moço: llegada a la casa del moço, ponjanlos ambos, junto al hogar, que siempre le tenjan, en medio de vna sala, lleno de fuego, y la muger estaua, a la mano izquierda del varon: luego la madre del mancebo, vestia vn vipil muy galano a su nuera, y ponjale junto a sus pies vnas naoas muy labradas: y la madre de la moça, cubria cõ vna manta, muy galana a su yerno, y atauasela sobre el hombro, y ponjale vn maxtli, muy labrado, a los pies. Hecho esto, vnas viejas, que se llaman titici, atauan la esqujna de la manta del moço con la falda del vipil de la moça. Assi se concluya el

X 796 **Twenty-fifth Chapter, which telleth of the feast and of the offerings which they made upon the feast day of the sixth month, which was called Etzalqualiztli.**[1]

Etzalqualiztli: Before the arrival of this feast, which was celebrated, first the priests fasted for the rain god. Before the four days of their fast began, first they gathered reeds there at Citlaltepec. For verily [137] at that place were formed very long reeds called *aztapilin* or *tolmimilli*[2]—very long, very high, and very white at the roots; and rounded, like a stone column.

And these they pulled up, cutting them at their white ends, at a place in the water called Temilco, or Tepexic Oztoc.

And when they had plucked them, thereupon they arranged them, they tied them in bundles, they bound them up in their capes, they girt the bundles of reeds in their capes.

●[482] Thereupon they took up [each bundle] in a tump line; they took them up in tump lines. Then [the reeds] were borne upon their backs, carried in the tump lines. And so they lifted up [the reeds]: they were lifted, and [the priests] departed; the departure was made, and they went on their way. None carried the reeds crosswise upon their backs; all bore them quite upright upon their backs.

X 796 And when the priests went to pluck the reeds, and
688 when they returned, the road [which they followed] was deserted. No others took [the path]; travelers followed it no more.

And if they came upon any men, then they despoiled them of their possessions, they robbed them, they stripped them, they wrested from them all that they had: they snatched away their goods. And if these defended themselves, then [the priests] abused them: they threw them upon the ground, they

Jnic cenpoalli ommacuilli capitulo, itechpa tlatoa yn ilhujtl, yoan yn jntlamanaliz in quichioaia, yn ipan ic cemilhujtl, ynic chiquacen metztli, in motenecoaia Etzalqualiztli.

Etzalqualiztli: ynin ilhujtl, yn aiamo onaxioa, in ipan muchioaia: achtopa motlalocaçaoaia in tlamacazque: nahuilvitl yn aiamo vmpeoa, inneçaoaliz achtopa ontolanaia, vmpa in citlaltepec: ichica ca cenca viiac yn vmpa muchioaia tullin, itoca aztapilin, anoço tolmjmjlli: cenca viac, cenca vitlatztic, yoan cenca tziniztic: yoan mjmjltic temjmjltic.

Auh yn vmpa conanaia, qujtezcopina, itocaiocan in atlan, temjlco, tepexic, oztoc:

auh yn oconanque, njmã ie ic qujchichioa, qujcujcujtlalpia, qujqujmiloa, qujtotolqujmjloa:

njman ie ic qujmecapallotia, qujmemecapallotia, njman netlamamaltilo, tlamamalo, tlaixquamamalo: njman ie ic oaleoa, oaleoalo, viloatz, aiac qujxtlapalmama yn aztapili, çan moch queoacamama.

Auh ynjc vih tolanazque, tlamacazque, yoan inic oalmocuepa, cactimoquetza in vtli, aocac qujtoca, aocmo qujtoca in nenenque:

auh yntla acame oquinnamjcque, njman vncan qujntlacujcujlia, qujntlanamoiclia, qujntlacencujlia, qujntlatlaçaltia: auh intla momapatla, njman qujnmjctia, qujntetentimaiauj, qujmihicça qujntitilicça, impan chocholoa, tlalli ic qujujujtequj, qujntlatlal-

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1. Sahagún (Robredo ed., Vol. I, p. 92) says: *"hacían una manera de puches, o polenda, que se llama etzalli"*; and in *ibid.*, p. 149: *"este etzalli era hecho de maíz remojado, a manera de arroz, y era muy sabroso."* Durán, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 210, defines *etzalli* as boiled corn and beans. Pino y Troncoso (*op. cit.*, p. 116), in his interpretation of the *Codex Borbonicus*' account of this month, refers to *"las polendas de etzalli hechas de frijol, cuyas semillas negras ocupan allí sobre la cuenca, y de maíz, cuyos granos blancos alternan con los otros negros."* Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 112) in his *Bekanntgemachten* has Etzalqualiztli as derived from *etl* (bean), *tzalan* (amongst us), and *qualiztli* (eating). In "Relación breve," p. 298, Garibay has *"Comida de manjar de frijoles,"* and in his *Llave del náhuatl* vocabulary, *"especie de puches."*

[22] [565] Tovar (Kubler and Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 25) identifies the feasts of this month as those of the working people and lower class, now resting after agricultural work. Hence the offering of etzalli to them.

2. In the Spanish text, Sahagún translates *acuipilpintzal* as *"pintes zapotes de pocoles blancos y verdes."* *Tolmimilli*, in the Robredo edition, Vol. III, p. 272, is a kind of *pencia*. Seler, in *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 3, p. 53, equates *aztapilin* with *estopillos*, and quotes Molina (*"pauos largos, gordos y redondos"*). Jourdanet and Simeon, in their translation (p. 104, n. 3) write that it is the equivalent of *estopillos*, *"de canal, aga de mais verd, et pilli, principal, grand"*; of *tolmimilli*, they write: *"sorte de tuffia, jone, et milli, champ cultivé"* (*loc. cit.*).

X 796 **Thirty-third Chapter**, in which are described the feasts and sacrifices which they offered as a service; which they performed in the days of the fourteenth month, which was called Quecholli.[1]

The fourteenth feast day was called Quecholli.

When Tepeilhuitl ended, nothing was done for another five days. All was quiet.

And when the five days had passed, upon the next day all offered reeds [for arrows]; each seasoned [482] warrior took a load upon his back (those of Tenochtitlan and those of Tlatelulco). They all offered the reeds at the foot of [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. And when they had been offered, then they came carrying them and bore them upon their shoulders [to their homes].

[441] And upon the morrow, once again all departed to the courtyard of [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli, that the reeds might be straightened in the fire. The reeds were to be straightened in the fire. Only this did they do. And when they had straightened [the reeds] in the fire, again they bore them away and went off with their burdens.

And on the third day, [when] once more all departed, the canes were brought. All came together—seasoned warriors, youths, young men of marriage-
X 796 able age. And the small boys they took up [the 785 pyramid to the] temple, where they sat blowing their shell trumpets and being bled. They cut their ears, pressed out the blood, and anointed their temples [224] [with it]. It was said: "The deer are [anointed] with blood." They fasted for the deer, that they might hunt [them].

And when they assembled in the temple courtyard, those of Tenochtitlan were spread on one side, those of Tlatelulco on the other. Thereupon were made arrows. It was said: "They form the arrows, or their [bolts of] oak."

X 796 785 684 And when arrows were being formed, all did penances; all the men drew blood. And if any were seen

Injc cempoalli ōnatlactli omei capitulo: vncan motenecoa in ilhujtl, yoā in nextlaoalli, injc tlacotia: in qujchioaia, in jpā ic cemjlhujtl, ic matlactetl on navi metztli, in motenecoaia, Quecholli.

Injc matlactetl on navi ilhujtl: ichoatl in motenecoa Quecholli:

in ōquiz tepeilhujtl, oc macujlilhujtl in aiatle muchioaia, çan oc cactimanj:

auh in ōquiz macujlilhujtl: in jmuztlaioc, vncā in neacamaco, cecen tlamamalli in conanaia tequjoaque, in Tenuchtitlan, in Tlatilulco: in neacamacoia, vncā in icxitlan Vitzilobochtli: auh in ōnemaco, njmā ic qujitquitze qujquequechpanoa.

Auh in jmuztlaioc, ie no ce, pa ic vilo̱a in jitoalco Vitzilobuchtli, tlatlemelaoaloz, motlemelaoaz in acatl: çan oc ixqujch, in muchioaia y: auh in vmmotlemelauh, oc ceppa çan no oalmotquj, oc ceppa intlatquj oalietiuh.

Auh injc eilhujtl, no ceppa vilo̱a, mootquj in acatl, vel ixqujch cemolinj, in tequjoaque in telpuchtli, in tlapalivi: auh in oqujchpipiltotonti, qujtletlecavia in teucalli, vncā tlatlapixtoque, yoan mjçotoque: qujtequj in innacaz, in jmeztço comparzca, incanaoacā conalaoa: mjtoaia, momaçaiço, qujnneçaviliaia in mamaça, injc amjoaz.

Auh in ocēqujxoato teuitoalco: cecnj moteca in tenuchca, cecnj moteca in Tlatilulca: njmā ie ic muchioa in mjtl: mjtoaia tlacati in tlacochtli, anoço yiaoaio.

Auh in jquac tlacatia, tlacochtli: neçaoaloia, qujneçaviliaia, ixqujch tlacatl, mjçoia: auh in aquj itto,

1. "Precious Feathers" is suggested by Garibay (*op. cit.*, p. 269). Clavijero (*op. cit.*, pp. 147-8) states that the month was named for the bird of fine plumage seen at that time on the lake shores; Torquemada (*op. cit.*, p. 288) writes similarly—". . . , nombre de un Pxaro de plumas azul, y colorado, que al en este Tierra, en especial en estos manantiales, y ojos de Agua, que al pasate del Pueblo de Quecholac"; see also p. 299. Durán (*op. cit.*, II, p. 297) refers to Quecholli as *flecha arrogadiza*.

Tovar, while mentioning the bird of rich plumage, adds that captains raised their banners and performed warlike exercises. He describes it as a month of unrest and disturbance (Kubler and Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 32).

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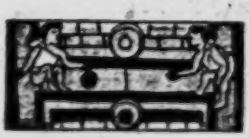

[533
534]
[735]

• [482]

—After Peñafiel y Troncoso

• 86. Punishment of an erring official (Chapter 17). 87. Punishment of a careless musician (Chapter 17). 88-90. Keeping watch in the city against enemies (Chapter 17). 91. The game tlachtli (Chapter 17). 92. Gifts of the ruler to the poor (Chapter 17).

[p. 36(M)]

1/21 [This caption is no error. - Rumsey]

[p. 36(L) is blank]

golden shells used upon his ankles; and a shield with a golden disc in the center, and spread quetzal feathers along its [lower] rim, and also with a quetzal feather banner.[18] [He had] the curved staff of the wind god, hooked at the top,[19] and white precious stone stars[20] spread over it; and his foam sandals.

Behold, these [were] all the things called the array of the gods, which became the charge of the messengers, and yet many more things which they bore as their greeting gifts — the shell-shaped headpiece of gold, with pendant parrot feathers;[21] the golden conical cap,[22] etc.

Thereupon were baskets filled; wooden frames for carrying burdens on the back were loaded. And the five [messengers] named, Moctezuma then commanded; he said unto them: "Go! Linger nowhere! Pray to our lord the god; say unto him: 'Thy servant Moctezuma hath sent us; behold what he offereth you, for [the god] hath come to reach his wretched home in Mexico.'"

And when they had gone to reach the coast, they ferried them across, they took them by boat across to Xicalanco. Then once again they departed from there by boat; the water folk took them. Everything was placed and heaped in the boat; they filled the boat with the goods. And when the boat was filled, thereupon they departed. They betook themselves into the water and left to reach the boats [of the Spaniards], they approached their boats.

Then [the Spaniards] inquired of them: "Who are you? Whence came you?"

Then [the messengers] answered them: "We have come from Mexico."

Again [the Spaniards] said to them: "Perhaps not. Perchance you only claim to come from there. Perhaps you only pretend. Maybe you make sport of us."

But when they had verified it, when they had quieted their doubts, then they hooked the prow of the boat with an iron pole, and thus drew them near. Then also they let down a ladder.

yoā hecamoecuilli, quacoltic, iztac chalchivitl injc citlallotoc yoan ipoçolcac. 431 776 301 292

Oca inquitlamātli in, in motenehua teutlatquitl in intlatquj mochiuhtia titlanti, yoan oc cenca mjec tlamantli in quitqujque in intenamjquja Teucujtlaquatecoiztli tozcapiollo, teucujtlacopilli, etc. 431 301

Niman ie ic tlatanatemalo, tlacacaxchichicalo. Auh in omotenehuhque macujltin; njman ie ic quinnaoatia in Motecuçoma: quimjlhuj. Tla xivian, ma cana anvecauhti, xicmotlatlauhtilican in totecujo in teutl: xiquilhujcan, ca otechalioa in motechiuhcauh Motecuçoma: izcatquj mjtzalmoenaquilia, ca onaxitico in jchītzinco mexico: 431 482 202

Auh in' oncito atenco, quimōpanavique, acaltica quimonvicaque in xicalanco:. ie no ceppa vncan oncoāj acaltica quinvicaque in atlaca, moch onmacalaquj, onmacalten, conacaltenque in tlatqujtl. Auh in ontlaacalhemaloc, njman ie ic vi, onmaroctique, itech onacito in jmacal, itech compachoque in jmacal. 505

njmā quinoalilhujque. Ac ameoan? campa anoallaque? njman iuh quinnanquilique. Ca vmpa tioallaque in Mexico: 648

oc ceppa quinoalilhujque. Acaçomo; aço çan vmpa anmotlamja, aço çan anquijpiquj, aço çi toca anmocacaiaoa.

Auh in ovel yiollo macic, in oiniollopachiuh. Niman ic quioaliacatzopinjque in acalli, tepuztopiltica, ic quinoaltilinjque: njman no quicalquetzque ecacuitli.

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18. *Ibid.*: "la qual traýdo encima hordada una plumeria vistosa en la hasta de la rodela [sic] salia una manera de plumeria vistosa."

19. *Ibid.*: "un bastón labrado de encorvo de tirabuxon y en la hechura de arriba puesto sobre plumeria vistosa o perlas conejeantes en la alta de arriba."

20. Literally, white green stone. The term *chalchiuitl*, often translated "jade" or "jadeite," may well have included various kinds of stones. However, our translation has adopted the term "green stone."

21. *Ibid.*: "una mjtra de oro hecha a manera de corona muchos ofi cosas engastadas de plumeria vistosa que colgauan hasta las espaldas."

22. Corresponding Spanish text: "una mjtra llana."

[p. 14 is blank]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955 NU7 Artec NU7

Then all the dwellers in cities beyond the mountains — those of Tlaxcalla, of Tliliuhquitepetl, of Uexotzinco — sped along at the rear. They came girt for war, with their cotton armor, their shields, their bows; their quivers filled and crammed with feathered arrows, some of barbed, wooden points, some blunted, some with obsidian points. They came crouching, and as they went, loosed cries and shrieks while striking their mouths with their hands; they screeched and whistled, and shook their heads.

And some bore burdens upon their backs; they carried rations on their backs. Some carried things [held by a tump line about] their foreheads, or, some, their breasts; some bore things on carrying frames, some in cage-like baskets, some in deep, reed baskets; some bore bundles; they carried them upon their backs; some dragged the great lombard guns, which rested upon wooden wheels. And they moved them along shouting.

njman ie inquich in aoatepeoa, in tlatepotzcatl, in tlaxcaltecatl, tliliuhquitepecatl, in vexotzincatl: tlatoquilitivitze, moiauchichiuhtivitze imjichcavipil, inchichimal, intlatlavitol, inmjmjcon tetentiuh, cacacatzcatiuh in totomjtl, cequj chichiquilli, cequj tlhpontli, cequj itzmjtl momamantivi, motenvitectivi, motenpapavitivi, tocujleuhtivi, tlatlanqujqujztivi, moquacuecuechotivi.

Auh in cequjntin tlamama, itacamama, cequjntin tlaixquamama, cequjntin tlaelpanmama, cequjntin tlacacaxvia, cequjntin tlaoacalhuja, cequjntin tlatompiavia, cequjntin tlaqujmjlhuja, mamaço tlaqujmjlmamama, cequjntin qujvilana in vevei, in totomaoac tlequjqujztli, quauhtemalacac oonotiuh, qujcavatztivitze.

[p. 40 is blank]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
NU7 Aztec NU7

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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

44. Marina interprets for the Spaniards when Moctezuma meets Cortés (Chapter 16). 45, 46. Spaniards take Moctezuma with them as they enter the great palace (Chapter 17). 47. Supplies demanded by the Spaniards (Chapter 17). 48. Moctezuma leads Cortés to the treasure-(Chapter 17). 49, 50. Spaniards and allies loot the treasure house (Chapter 17). 51. Marina addresses Mexican noblemen (Chapter 19). 52. Mexicans leave supplies for the Spaniards (Chapter 18).

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7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

73, 75. War breaks out between the Spaniards and the Mexicans (Chapter 21). 74. Montezuma is put in irons (Chapter 21). 76. Impersonators addresses the Mexicans (Chapter 21). 77. Mexicans are seen carrying furs into the palace (Chapter 21). 78. Ornamental design from Book XII. 79. Cortés arrives in Tenochtitlan with more Spaniards and allies (Chapter 22).

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648 an outcry, and then the tumult rose and spread. Thereafter arrows fell upon the roof-top. But the Spaniards sheltered Moctezuma and Itzquauhtzin under their shields lest the Mexicans pierce them with the arrows.

For this reason were the Mexicans in great wrath: because [the Spaniards] had completely destroyed the chieftains [in the Temple Courtyard]; without warning, they had slain them by treachery.[4]

726 Not yielding to force of arms, [the Mexicans] surrounded the palace. They watched various places that none might enter it secretly — that none might in stealth take in tortillas. Hence, at once was stayed all which they had been receiving; forthwith they left no more. In this way they would starve them.[5]

And as for those who would in vain advise [the besieged], or gain merit by secretly giving [one of them] a little food, if they were seen or detected, they then and there slew them. They killed them on the spot. They either struck them on the back of the head, or they stoned them.

At one time some Mexicans were seen carrying in furs. These let word fall that through them some had secretly gone in. Therefore all were strictly commanded that every road and canal be well guarded and watched; that all take great care in the watching. And those who took in the furs [were] carriers,[6] the emissaries of the stewards of Ayotzintepec and Chinantla. Then and there they breached their last; their work dropped; at the canal they struck them on the back of the head with wooden clubs.[7] Those of Tenochtitlan had only quarreled among themselves, and quite in confusion had seized the carriers. They said: "Surely he is one [of them]!" Then they put him to death. And if they noted someone [wearing] his fine crystal lip rod, then they quickly seized and killed him. They said: "Surely this one also walketh entering within, to serve food to Moctezuma." And if they saw someone who had tied on himself the maguey fiber cape[8] of a carrier, him also they quickly seized. They said: "This one also is a brute who goeth bearing evil tales, and letteth them in to see Moctezuma."

nimā ic ic onvetzi in mjtl in tlapanco. Auh in Motzcoçomatzin yoan Itzquauhtzi, quinchīmalcaltia in Españoles in ma quinmjnti in Mexica.

Inic cenca qualanque in Mexica: ichica ca vel quimjztlatique in tiacauan in ainnemachpan in quinpolomjctique,

in amo ivivi ic conçaubque quiiacoalotinemj in tepancalli: tlatlapia in açaca onjchtacacalaquj, in açaca conjchtacacalaquja tlaxcalli, çan nimān ic oenmotzacu in jxquich in omacoiā, çan nimā aocac tle conçauia: iuhquin quinçujtlaoztique.

Auh in aquique oc nen xonexcaia, tlamatzoaia, motlamaceviaia, in ichtacatzin cōmacaia in tlaqualtzintli: intla oitoque, intla oittaloque, nimān vncā quinmjctia, vncan quinctlatlatia, aço quinçuexcochvitequi, anoço quintetepachoa.

Çequintin mexica ceppa ittaloque, quicalaquiaia totomjtl: ichoantin tlanexotlaque, inca çequintin oncalaquj ichtaca, ic cenca netlaquauhnacatiloc inic vellapicloz, vel mopiaz in jxquj vtli yoan in jxquj acalutli, vel necujtlavilloa vel ixpialoia. Auh in qujcalaquiaia totomjtl tequipaque indiaivalhoā in calpixque aiutzintepecatl yoan chinantecatl: nimān vncan ihiuitl quiz, nimā vncā intequjuh vetz, acaloco in quimōcuexcochviviteçoque, vitzantica, çan monotechvia in tenuchca, yoan çan jliviz in quintzintequja in tequitque, quitoaia. Ca ichoatl in: nimā ic conmjctia. Auh intla aca conjttaia ichopiloteneuh: nimān quicujtivetzi, conmjctia: quitoa, ca no ichoatl in oncalactinemj in cendatlamaca in Motecuçoma: yoan intla aca quitta, quimolpilia tequitcaaiatl, no quicujtivetzi, quitoa: ca no ichoatl in tlapalpul, in tetzauhtlatolli quitequjtinemj, cōcalaquja, in conjtta motecuçoma.

4. *For quinpoyomictique read quinpopoloniztique.*
5. Literally, "they dried their mouths."
6. Corresponding Spanish text: "los mexicanos a pojo de Motecuçoma."
7. *Phonetic read correction.*
8. Corresponding Spanish text: "capa vsaua dellados que llamā equil."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 Teonochtitlan,[7] Teopantlan,[8] and Ytzucan.[9] Tezozomoc speaks of
175 Coatlalpan as being situated near the Marquesado.[10]

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—Tepeacac and her subject towns paid the following tribute to the Empire:

FOOD

[262] 4 wooden cribs (2 of maize and 2 of beans)[11]

OTHER GOODS

317 4,000 loads of lime
314 4,000 loads of thick canes
281 8,000 loads of canes for arrow shafts
483 800 deerskins
8,000 loads of *acayetl* "performes que usan para la boca"
200 *cacaxtles*[12]

632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Ahuatlan (a) paid a tribute of
651 cane.[13]

Coatzinco supplied cane, shields made of the same material, spearheads, bows and arrows, and white lime.[14]

[701] Texalucan (b) claimed to have given military service only—the enemies including the distant Coixca.[15]

Çoyatitlanapa (c) paid a tribute of canes, spearheads, white lime, shields made of cane, and wild cotton for padding armor.[16]

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[7] More exactly, Tepexuxuma, next door to Teonochtitlan. *PNE*, 1: No. 540.

[8] *PNE*, 1: No. 559.

[9] *PNE*, 1: No. 292.

[10] Tezozomoc, *Crónica mexicana* (1878), pp. 533–534: "los pueblos de Coatla[l]pan y ... la tierra caliente, que ahora llaman del Marquesado."

[11] Wooden frames for carrying goods on the back with a tumpline.

[12] *PNE*, 5: 82–83: "Dicen que en tiempo de su ynfidelidad fueron vasallos de Motecçoma y sus pasados, y que le seruian y tributauan rrodelas de canas maçiças que en lengua mexicana llaman otlatl."

[13] *PNE*, 5: 95: "Dicen fueron vasallos de Motecçoma y de los Señores de Mexico, y le seruian con rrodelas de cana maçiça, con canas fuertes, y nauajas para lanças, cal blanca, flecha y arco para pelear."

[14] *PNE*, 5: 86: "Dizen que fueron vasallos de Motecçuma y sus pasados," making war against the "prouinçia de Coyxco y captiuauan gente que lleuavan a Mexico a Motecçuma para que se sacrificasse." For Coixca, see section on Tepequacuilco, p. 17, n. 41.

[15] *PNE*, 5: 90: "En tiempo de su ynfidelidad eran de Motecçuma, señor de Mexico, y sus pasados dauanle de tributo cal blanca, canas maçiças grandes, y nauajas para poner en las lanças, y rrodelas de cana maçiça para pelear, y algodon: algodon siluestre para jacos y conseletes que vestian los hombres de guerra, que todo lo rreferido lleuauan a Mexico."

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

565 After this review of the question of stratification, so to say, among the ancient Mexicans, it may appear strange on our part

from *Tlatilulcan sources* ("Prologo," pp. 4 and 5, Vol. I). This diminishes necessarily in this instance, the value of his otherwise very full and highly important testimony.

The existence of such a body, powerful through wealth as well as through mental and intellectual faculties would, even as much as nobility, at once have destroyed the tribe as such, by breaking up the kins. The inconsistency of such a picture with the historical facts is glaring, and is shown even by the statements of modern writers. Compare for instance, Mr. H. H. Bancroft's statement of the condition of Tlatilulco after its capture by the Mexicans (Vol. V, p. 431), "heavy tributes were imposed, including many special taxes and menial duties of a humiliating nature" with his description of the state of its "merchant princes" (Vol. II, pp. 360 and 361). One fact is evident: if the traders formed occasionally, for certain purposes, clusters of their own, they selected their own leaders or directors and this was the case with trading expeditions as well as with feasts. See on feasts: *Sahagun*, Lib. IX, cap. III to XIV inclusive, Lib. I, cap. XIX, pp. 29 to 32. *Motolinia*, Trat. I, cap. VIII, p. 47. *Acosta*, Lib. V, cap. XXIX, p. 288, etc. *Torquemada*, Lib. VI, cap. XXVIII, pp. 37 and 38. Lib. XIV, cap. XXVII, pp. 586 and 587. *Clavigero*, Lib. VI, cap. VII, p. 300. Lib. VII, cap. XXXVIII, p. 536, etc., and others. But as to any separate, permanent government [68] of their own, this rests exclusively upon the authority of Sahagun, whereas it is amply proven, on the other hand, that any crime committed in trade or barter, was summarily disposed of by the regular officers of the kin or tribe without regard to the traders or merchants. We shall furnish the evidence in regard to this point in another note.

[69] That the "pochtecas" occupied but one calpulli, that of Pochtlan, is also disproved, and even by *Sahagun* himself (Lib. I, cap. XIX, p. 31). "En este calpulli donde se contaba el mercader." (Lib. IX, cap. III, p. 347): "respondiante los mercaderes principales de los barrios que son uno que se llama Pochtlan, otro Acachtlan, y otro Atlanhco como está en la letra"). (Cap. III, p. 349) "convidaban á solos los mercaderes de su barrio; pues el que habia de ir por capitan de la compañia de los que iban, no solamente convidaba á los de su barrio, sino tambien á los que habian de ir con él." Also by *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," etc., pp. 223 and 234).

Lastly the question of wealth amassed in such quantities as to become an influential power in the merchants' hands, is also summarily disposed of by *Sahagun*. However often he speaks of riches gathered by them, the following quotations show how it must be understood: (Lib. IX, cap. II, p. 338, Speech of one of the traders) "Cuando lleguemos á nuestro tierra, será tiempo de usar los barbotes de ambar, y las oregeras que se llaman quetzalcoyolnacohtli, y los aventaderos y ojeadores de moscas, las mantas ricas que hemos de traer, y los maxtles preciados, solo esto será nuestra paga, y la señal de nuestra valentia," (p. 341) "y que las otras preseas que les dió que arriba se dijéron, solo ellos las usasen en las grandes fiestas . . . ." It thus appears that hoarding of any actual wealth was not to be expected. The lack of currency alone made it almost impossible for want of space, and gold and silver being only used for ornamental purposes and as a part of "medicine," we should mistake in expecting anything like "treasures." Here, as anywhere else, the supply was regulated by the demand, and this demand was in turn created by the numbers of the population, and by the use made of the metal. Since the latter was used only in a few ways, this had its effect on the amount also. Another cause, which is not sufficiently estimated, is found in the fact that carriers had to be used for everything, including food. Now, even if thousands went along (of which there is hardly any proof), the load of each [482] hardly exceeded sixty pounds: "y daban á cada uno de estos que tenian alquilados, para que llevasen acuestas la carga que tenian señalada, y de tal manera las comparaban que no eran muy pesadas" (Cap. III, p. 350, Lib. IX). *Don Antonio de Mendoza* ("*Avis sur les prestations personnelles et les Tamemes*, 1er Recueil of Ternaux-Compans), says in 1550, "They must not carry any loads heavier than two arrobas," or about fifty pounds. *Bartolomé de las Casas* ("*Brevissima relacion de la destruycion de las Yndias*," Venetia, 1643, Italian and Spanish, p. 101), complains of three to four arobas or

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

to concede, that nevertheless there were two very distinct classes within the area occupied by the tribe enjoying each a very different quality of rights. Now equality of rights is the fundamental principle of kinship;[79] if therefore there was a body connected with the tribe whose rights and privileges were inferior, it follows that the members of this body must have stood outside

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seventy-five to one hundred pounds, as an excessive load. *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XL, p. 329), sixty pounds. [482]

To conclude, I advert to the fact that the traders were held to tribute and especially to offerings for worship, as strictly as any other members of the tribe. I merely refer to *Herrera* (Dec. III, Lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 156), who embodies in a few words the statements of other writers. *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. IV, p. 76), "No se deavelan en adquirir riquezas," and further on to p. 77; also (Trat. I, cap. IV, p. 31), "otros trabaja ban y adquirian dos ó tres años cuanto podian, para hacer una fiesta al demonio, y en ella no solo gastaban cuanto tenian, mas aun se adeudaban". The picture of the trading expedition is mainly taken from *Sahagun* (Lib. IX, cap. II, III, IV) and *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. XXVII). The reception only applies to cases of great importance. But every departure of a merchant as well as his return was feasted by the traders of his "barrios," sometimes with the concurrence of other barrios and of the chiefs and officers. 441 556 565

That, in consequence of their deeds, the merchants and traders were treated with distinction and created chiefs, follows from *Sahagun* (Lib. I, cap. XIX, pp. 30 and 31), "para que fuese honrado en el pueblo, y tenido per valiente: ponianle un barbote de ámbar, que es una piedra larga amarilla, trasparente, que cuelga del beso bajo, ahujerado, en señal de que era valiente y era noble, y esto se tenia en mucho." But especially (Lib. IX, cap. II, pp. 338-341), "Estos mercaderes eran ya como caballeros, y tenian divisas particulares por sus hazañas". "*Des Cérémonies observées autrefois par les Indiens lorsqu'ils faisaient un traité*" (Ternaux, 1er Recueil, pp. 233 and 234). The custom of giving the rank of chief ("tecuhtli") to traders remained after the conquest when the chief became transformed into the Spanish *hidalgo* in consequence of a misconception of the former dignity. This is shown plainly by the arch-bishop, *Fray Alonso de Montufar* ("*Supplique à Charles V en faveur des Macéuales*, Mexico, 30 Nov. 1554, French translation by Mr. Ternaux, Appendix to his "*Cruautés horribles des Conquérants du Mexique*," p. 257). It was done to evade taxation.

The true position of the Mexican traders in their tribe and society is also stated plainly by *Sahagun* (Lib. I, cap. XIX, p. 30): "Son estos mercaderes sufridores de muchos trabajos, y osados para entrar en todas las tierras (aunque sean las de enemigos) y muy astutos para tratar con los estraños, asi aprendiendo sus lenguas, como tratando con ellos con benevolencia para atraerlos asi con su familiaridad." (Lib. IX, cap. II, p. 339) "pues que aunque nos llamamos mercaderes y lo parecemos, somos soldados que disimuladamente andamos á conquistar." (Id., p. 341) "Los dichos mercaderes del Tlatelolco se llaman tambien capitanes y soldados disimulados en hábito de mercaderes que andaban por todas partes." (p. 343) "Cuando quiera que el señor de Mexico queria enviar á los mercaderes, que eran capitanes y soldados disimulados á alguna provincia para que la atalayasen." *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," etc., p. 228) "Ils jouissaient de certains privilèges, parceque leur profession était utile à l'état." This is textually copied by *Bustamante* ("*Tezcoco*," Parte IIIa, cap. V, p. 241). They were frequently but official spies and used as such, not only *by* the Mexicans, but *against* the Mexicans by foreign tribes. *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVII, p. 130) copied by *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. II, p. 581).

[79] *L. H. Morgan* ("*Ancient Society*," Part II, cap. II, p. 85, in relation to Iroquois more particularly). Among the ancient Germans or Teutons, see *Heinrich Luden* ("*Geschichte des teutschen Volkes*," 1825, Vol. I, Lib. III, cap. V, on the "*Gau*," pp. 469 and 481).

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

population of "hangers-on to the tribe." This class was yet not very numerous; still it grew slowly and steadily. Prohibited from carrying arms, and therefore from taking any part in warfare other than that of carriers and, perhaps, runners, the heavy drudgery of work was at their charge.[89] Even the tillage of lots appears to have been frequently assigned to them, and it may be that what is commonly termed the class of "macehuales" consisted of the outcasts who improved "tlalmilpa" for the benefit of members of the kin.[90] Besides, it is distinctly implied, if not stated,

(Lib. II, cap. XLV, pp. 154-155; cap. LXII, p. 184; Lib. XIII, cap. XII, p. 436). *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. II. p. 265) admits two classes of concubines for married people, one of which he calls "the less legitimate wives." Among other authorities, he adduces in evidence *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. I, p. 200): "Tenia esto Olintech treynta mugeres dentro de su casa, con quien el dormia, á las quales servian mas de ciento otras." The same statement is also found in *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," etc., Vedia I. p. 326) and others. (The name for the mistress ("manceba") of a *married* man is "teichtacamecauh" (*Molina*, I, p. 61), which means literally "thy secret tie," from "Tehuatl"—"thou, "ichtaca"—secretly (II, p. 39), and "mecatl"—rope or cord (II, 56). See in a further note.

The most significant statements, however, are those already reported, of Motolinia and of Gomara, that the Indians explained their polygamy by the fact that *they kept these women for their work*. In other words, they were purchased hands. This is indicated by the following authorities: *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," etc., Vedia I, p. 441), "Las malas mujeres de su cuerpo, que lo daban de balde si no las querian pagar, se vendian par esclavas por traerse bien, ó cuando ninguno las queria, por viejas ó feas ó enfermas; que nadie pide por las puertas." *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. XVI, p. 563): "Havia tambien mugeres, que se daban á vivir sueltas, y libertadamente; y para proseguir este mal Estado, que tomaban, tenian necesidad de vestir curiosa, y galanamente, y por la necesidad, que pasaban, porque no trabajaban . . . . llegaban á necesitarse mucho, y hacianse Esclavas;" and the same authority adds (Cap. XVII, p. 566): "y muchas veces los Amos se casaban, con Esclavas suias," without any closer definition however. Finally, the *Anónimo* says (p. 397): "Nelle nozze di questa patrona principale fanno alcune cirimonie, il che non si osserva nelle nozze dell' altre."

There is no evidence that a married man could increase the number of his women even with the consent of the parents, in other words, marry a girl. But if the latter had, through her own lewd conduct, become abandoned and cast off, then he could associate with her as his mistress without regard to his wife proper. Also he might purchase (or rather barter for) a female and afterwards make a concubine of her, even if she was of a foreign tribe. Prisoners of war (females) may occasionally have been spared also, but this suggestion rests on very slight evidence (compare "*Anónimo*," p. 373), and may apply only to prisoners of war purchased from other tribes (*Sahagun*, Lib. I, cap. XIX. p. 29).

[89] They were the "tamenes," carriers. The Mexican word is "tlamama," from "tlacatl"—man, and "nitla-mama"—to carry a load (*Molina*, II, p. 51). *Don Antonio de Mendoza*, "*Avis sur les Prestations personelles*," etc., p. 356. Ternaux, Recueil). *Zurita* (pp. 230, 231, and 280) "*Lettre des auditeurs Salmeron, Maldonado, Cynos et Quiroga a l'Imperatrice*." (Mexico, 30 March, 1531, in 2d Recueil, etc., pp. 143 and 144): "Les Indiens ont de tout temps porté des fardeaux, ils y sont accoutumés . . . "

[90] This is a mere suggestion. The majority of descriptions, however, are such that the "maseheual" may have been, and probably was, a member of the kin. Still, in such cases, when that member could not improve his lots himself, families of "bondsmen" may have done the work for him, and thus become included in the general picture. Quotations are superfluous, since the information is not, as yet, positive enough.

782 And the commoners, the poor, only threw coarse incense into the fire. And finally the extremely poor, the poverty-stricken, the needy, the discontented, who came last, only cast aromatic herbs in the fire, thus making the offering in their own fires.[5]

642 And it is said that the lords and rulers were
643 installed then, on the day One Dog; and there was a celebration, the royal ceremony, the rites of election,[6]
431 on Four Reed. At that time the lords over the cities came from everywhere. There was feasting, by which it was made known that the new ruler had been installed. Many came in this manner: as their salutations, their gifts of greeting, they bore and carried wrist bands, capes, flowers, tobacco. For whatsoever their cities were famous and renowned, from wherever and howsoever far they traveled, they offered gifts and paid tribute to the ruler, and greeted him and paid him great respect. Their elders, the lords, the orators, the able speakers, who were seated, returned like for like and answered them for him.

431 And in the same manner was it done and responded. Thus was returned their gratitude, in order to reciprocate, to acknowledge, to welcome, and to provide a repast. Flowers, tobacco, drink, food, and confections were presented. But the capes came in bundles. They were only in bales. Only by the bundle were they given and presented. Each brought out first the precious capes, appropriate to them, the ones to which they were entitled, made and completed in [the ruler's] house. Thereupon they gave them their choice and pleased them. What each thought best, or sought out, or what was fitting for him, or suited his liking, or his rank, they gave the lords over the cities; [the ruler's] servants thus honored and gave preference to each [of the lords] individually.

● [482] The gifts hurried, rushed, hastened, and sped borne on their backs, carried and transported by the tump lines. And the leavings, worth nothing, of no value,

auh in çan maceoaltzintli, in motolinja, çan copalxalli in tleco quitema: auh in ça iequene quiztacuja, in molhujicnotlacatl, tequjicnotlacatl, in ilavia, in auellamati: çan ie in jauhtli tleco quitepeoa, ic quitlamaca in jxcoian itleuh:

ioan mjtos in tlatoque vncan motecutlaliaia motlatocatlaliaia, in jpan in ce itzcujotli: auh ipan motequaltiaia, motecpacaia, motlatocapacaia, in nauhcatl, iquac noviian oalhuja, in altepetl ipan tlatoque, coanotzalo, ic machitilo in iancujcan tlatoanj omotlali, mjiec injc oalhuj, in jntetlapaloaia, in jntetlapalol qujoalcuj, qujoalitquj in macuextli, in tilmatli, in xuchitl, in jetl, in çaço tlein imamaujzço, yximachocp imaltepeuh, in campa, in quexquichca oaleoa, quitlamamaca, quitlatequjlia in tlatoanj, ioan quitlapaloa, quitlatlauhtia, oalmotlalia in jntechiuhcaoan, in tecutlatoque, in vellatoa, in tlatolmati, quitlacuepilia, qujnthlananqujlilia:

auh çan no iuj in chioalo, in namjco, çan ic mocuepa in jnnetlaçotlaliz, injc motlaneuj, injc mjximati, injc momalcochoa, injc moonachioa, quimomamaca in xuchitl, in jetl, in atl, in tlaqualli, in tlaqualtectli: auh in tilmatli çan quiquimjlluhtiuh, çan quiquimjlietiuh, çan qujmjltica in qujmomaca, in, in qujmotlauhtia, qujiaiacana in tlaçotilmatli, in tetechtilmatli, in vel intonal icalitic ochioaloc, otlatlan, iquac impan qujnpepena, inpan quimelitta, quintlatlatilia, quimjipantia, quinpapantia, quinpapanjtia, in quenamj quinmacazque altepetl ipan tlatoque: injc nononqua quinmaujxtilia, quinvecapano, intetlaujcalhuan.

tlaliuj, tlitlaliuj, tlitlalhujtiuj, tlitlaliooa, in tlamamalo, in tlitlatqujoa, quaquailpitiuh in netlauhtili: auh in netlacaujlli, ittle tlaçotli, iriatlaçotli, tla-

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5. Corresponding Spanish text: *"Los pobres ofrecian su encienso, que llamam copalxalli, en su mismo hogar: y los muy pobres, ofrecian una yerua molida, que se llama yauhtli en sus mismos hogares."* — in Sahagún (Garibay ed.), Vol. IV, p. 371, ix in *Tagarno hasta*; see also J. E. S. Thompson: *Mexico Before Cortez* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1944), p. 185.

Ximenez, *op. cit.*, pp. 239-240, notes that Louis Reiffenl, in *La médecine chez les mexicains précolombiens* (Paris: Jouve and Boyer, 1900), p. 95, identifies yauhtli as a species of chenopodium; A. Gerste, in *Notes sur la médecine et la botanique des anciens mexicains* (Rome: Imprimerie Polyglotte Vaticane, 1909), p. 54, says it is definitely narcotic. Jacinto de la Serna's "Manual de ministros para conocer y extirpar las idolatrias de los indios," in Jacinto de la Serna, Pedro Ponce, and Fr. Pedro de Feria: *Tratado de las idolatrias, supersticiones, dioses, ritos, hechicerias y otros costumbres gentilicas de las razas aborigenes de Mexico* (Mexico: Ediciones Fuentes de Cultura, n.d.), p. 249, identifies yauhtli as *perhamio*, which, according to Santamaria, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 298, is *"Nombre vulgar que en el norte del pais, en Mexico, se da a una planta parecida al cempasuchil* (Tagetes minuta), *cuyas hojas hueleu a anis."*

6. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book VIII, "Kings and Lords," p. 64. Sahagún (Garibay ed.), VIII, 18, 14: *"la fiesta de su elevación, que llamam motlatocapaoa."*

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— Aloe Pano y Travesa

56. Twelve House, Thirteen Lizard, and Ten Crocodile (Chapter 15). 57. Umbilicaleb (Chapter 17). 58, 59. Merchants (Chapter 18). 60, 61. Three Deer and bathing of child (Chapter 19). 62. Umbilicaleb (Chapter 20).

[C p. 126 k]